

SENATORS AND OFFICERS POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE OF TRAVEL EXPENSES

Date/TIME Stamp
SECRETARY OF THE SENATE
PUBLIC RECORDS

2019 MAR 27 AM 10:03

This disclosure, along with a copy of the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and all attachments, MUST be provided to the Office of Public Records, Room 232 of the Hart Building, within 30 days after the travel is completed.

In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I Sen. Chris Van Hollen, make the following
(Name of Senator/Officer)

disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me.

Private Sponsor(s) (list all): Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)

Travel date(s): March 15-18, 2019

Destination(s): San Diego, California

Name of accompanying family member (if any): Katherine Wilkens

Relationship to Member/Officer: ☒ Spouse ☐ Child

FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE LINES. IF THE COST OF LODGING DID NOT INCREASE DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.)

Expenses for Senator/Officer:

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount	\$1100	\$510	\$208	\$550 meeting room expenses

Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child (if applicable)

	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses (Amount & Description)
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Good Faith Estimate <input type="checkbox"/> Actual Amount	\$1100	\$0	\$208	\$550 meeting room expenses

Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. See Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if necessary.): See attached agenda

I HAVE MADE A DETERMINATION THAT THE TRAVEL DESCRIBED ABOVE WAS IN CONNECTION WITH MY DUTIES AS AN OFFICEHOLDER, AND DID NOT CREATE THE APPEARANCE THAT I WAS USING PUBLIC OFFICE FOR PRIVATE GAIN.

3/26/19
(Date)


(Signature of Senator/Officer)

March 15-18, 2019
San Diego, California

***Dan Glickman, Executive Director,
Aspen Institute Congressional Program***

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As peer or near-peer competitors, China and the U.S. are striving to shape security architectures, trading regimes, norms and practices, and values systems worldwide. Few of the issues they face are merely bilateral. The measure of the relationship will be taken not only in Beijing and Washington, but in Africa, the Arctic, the Antarctic, Southeast Asia, outer space, and cyberspace.

- Orville Schell**, Director, Center on U.S.-China Relations,
The Asia Society

Break

FROM ENGAGEMENT TO ADVERSITY: BILATERAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT, AND CHINA'S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

After 40 years of engagement in which economics served, in China's President Xi Jinping's phrase, as the "ballast" of the relationship, American dissatisfaction with China's trade and investment policies became the fuse that ignited a comprehensive competition. China is unwilling to restructure its economy to meet American demands, however, and it is learning to leverage its wealth to build influence worldwide and within the U.S.

- Daniel Rosen, Founding Partner,
The Rhodium Group**

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding China.

EMERGING THEATERS OF COMPETITION:

Roundtable Discussion

CYBERSPACE AND ESPIONAGE, WEAPONIZATION OF SPACE, AND THE RACE TO DOMINATE ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Beijing and Washington agree that innovation is now the key to economic, military, and soft power. A key feature of their competition is the race to master and marketize emergent technologies, and Artificial Intelligence in particular, which has the capacity to accelerate and integrate other innovations. If one side gains a clear advantage in AI, the other may never catch up.

- Is China still an imitative nation, or has it developed the ability to innovate at the American scale?
- Is the American regulatory environment a spur to AI innovation, or a drag on the growth of this emerging industry?
- Which nation will likely prevail in the AI competition, and what are the global implications of dominance?

Dean Cheng, Senior Research Fellow,
Asia Studies Center, the Heritage Foundation

3:30 PM – 6:00 PM
Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. policy toward China. Scholars available to meet for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in previous sessions that day include Robert Daly, Daniel Rosen, and Dean Cheng.

6:00 PM – 7:00 PM
Pre-Dinner Remarks

THE QUEST FOR FAIR TRADE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND CHINA

The terms of trade between the U.S. and China is a central factor impacting the relationship between these two superpowers. Professor Hanson will discuss costs and gains from expanded trade with China, which he first articulated in his piece, *The China Shock*.

Gordon Hanson, Director, Center on Global Transformation,
University of California at San Diego

7:00 PM – 9:00 PM
Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding the economic dimensions of U.S.-China relations.

SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 2019

7:30 AM – 8:30 AM
Breakfast Remarks

A CHINESE PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

China sees its exponential development over the last few decades as a restoration of its destiny as a major power. China's relationship with the U.S. has been a significant factor in its dramatic growth. What is China's perspective on the U.S.-China relationship?

Yun Sun, Director, China Program, The Stimson Center

8:30 AM – 10:45 AM
Roundtable Discussion

UNDERSTANDING CHINA'S QUEST FOR POWER ON CHINA'S TERMS

Under Xi Jinping, the Chinese Communist Party has aggressively used clout to fulfill an ambition to rise its stature on the global stage irrespective of its competition with the U.S. Xi's rejuvenation of a strong Chinese global presence has implications for issues of sovereignty, political, security and economic concerns as well as changing global rules in the realms of human rights and governance of internet space. China's attempt to shape global narratives and to influence investment serve its historic aspirations.

- What are the primary methods by which Beijing influences American institutions?
- What specific harms have resulted from Chinese influence operations? How widespread are they?
- What is the relationship between China's influence campaigns and its public diplomacy, espionage, and interference operations?
- How do China's actions differentiate from legitimate "soft power" activities?

*Elizabeth Economy, Director for Asia,
Council on Foreign Relations*

10:45 AM – 11:00 AM Break

11:00 AM – 12:45 PM
Roundtable Discussion

STANDOFF OR STATUS QUO IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC?

It appears that China has succeeded in establishing a "new normal" in the Western Pacific; its constant patrols near the Senkaku Islands are barely mentioned by Western media and, in the South China Sea, it has militarized artificial islands and flouted the findings of the Permanent Court of Arbitration with impunity. American Freedom of Navigation operations have not altered Chinese behavior or ambitions.

- Does the "Indo-Pacific" strategy offer realistic hope of countering China's growing power in the region?
- What are the implications of China's growing power in the Western Pacific for U.S. alliances with Japan and South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines?
- How do Southeast Asian nations view the relative power of the U.S. and China in the region?
- How is China's more assertive stance toward Taiwan related to its policies in the Western Pacific?

*Bonnie Glaser, Director, China Power Project,
Center for Strategic & International Studies*

12:45 PM – 1:30 PM
Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding China.

TOWARD AN EFFECTIVE STRATEGY: POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.

The U.S. has informed China of its grievances and offered a stark declaration of its attitude toward the People's Republic of China: We are rivals. Washington has not yet articulated policies to deal with the China threat, however, much less has it integrated its policies in light of American capabilities, constraints, and national will. In sum, the U.S. does not have a strategy for managing its greatest security challenge.

- What are America's primary interests vis-à-vis China?
- What costs are the U.S. government and the American people willing to bear over the long run in competition with China?
- What does the U.S. envision as the stable end point of the China rivalry?
- What specific policies can best address American interests?

Robert Daly, Director, The Kissinger Institute, The Wilson Center

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. policy toward China. Scholars available to meet for in depth discussion of ideas raised in previous sessions that day include Elizabeth Economy, Bonnie Glaser, and Robert Daly.

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding the economic dimensions of U.S.-China relations.

MONDAY, MARCH 18, 2019

Participants depart in the morning

Sen. Chris Van Hollen, and his wife, Katherine Wilkens, depart San Diego at 8:10 am on United flight #546 and arrives in Washington, DC at 3:57 pm

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The Senate Member, officer, or employee **MUST** also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

- Private Sponsor Certification - Page 1 of 4

SECRET

☐ (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee *on any segment* of the trip.

- OR -

- OR -

10. USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)

12. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:

See attached appendix.

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is conducting nonpartisan forums

on China intends to examine US policy toward China and how it might evolve in the coming decades. See attached appendix.

The Aspen Institute Congressional Program has conducted international and domestic conferences for members of Congress for over 35 years. On occasion, other policy programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc.,

Private Sponsor Certification - Page 2 of 4

21. Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:

Lodging and meals are under published per diem.

22. Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:

Roundtrip coach class flight on a commercial airline carrier and coach ground
(taxi/Uber/Lyft) from/to San Diego airport

23. ☒ I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).

24. List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:

None

25. I hereby *certify* that the information contained herein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you *must* include a completed signature page for each additional sponsor):

Signature of Travel Sponsor:

Name and Title: Dan Glickman, Vice President and Director of the Congressional Program

Name of Organization: **The Aspen Institute Congressional Program**

Address: 2300 N St. NW Ste. 700 Washington, DC 20037

Telephone Number: (202) 736-5859 (Lisa Jones)

Fax Number: NA

E-mail Address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org

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Question 5: Name and title of Senate invitees

Question 12: Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting this trip

Aspen Institute is the sole sponsor of this conference on “Competing with a Rising China: Policies for American Interests.” The organization has received general support and unrestricted funds from The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip.

The AICP's conference in San Diego is for members of Congress to take an in-depth look and to focus on federal policy issues related to China and the relationship between the US and China and its impact.

The Aspen Institute holds numerous educational activities, including conferences, roundtables, briefings and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world.

Question 16: Daily breakdown of meeting room expenses for the per person total of \$550

March 15: \$183

March 16: \$183

March 17: \$183

Question 16: Breakdown of transportation expenses

Sen. Van Hollen: Air travel Roundtrip - \$1000; ground transportation from/to airport: \$100

Ms. Wilkens: Air travel Roundtrip- \$1000; ground transportation from/to airport: \$100



Dan Glickman

Executive Director

Congressional Program

December 3, 2018

The Honorable Chris Van Hollen
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chris:

I would like to invite you and Katherine to participate in a congressional conference on ***Competing with a Rising China: Policies for America's Interest***, March 15-18, 2019, in San Diego, California. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

Relations between the U.S. and China have shifted markedly in an adversarial direction. The U.S. has initiated tariffs on Chinese trade. Our National Security Strategy states that we are in a new era of "great power competition" with China. Vice President Pence recently accused China of interfering in our domestic politics. China has continued its assertive outreach with its Belt and Road Initiative which further extends China's realm of influence positioning it as a global competitor to U.S. interests. These concerns and more will frame our weekend seminar of discussions.

We are assembling a mix of prominent American scholars, representing a range of views, to assist our discussions. Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, lobbyists, or congressional staff. Funding is provided solely by grants from foundations—no government, individual, corporate or special interest funds are accepted.

Under guidelines established by the Senate Select Ethics Committee, we will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

This program is designed for Members of both the Senate and the House. Please note that because the House has adopted rules that preclude registered lobbyists from attending our events, if your accompanying spouse or family member is a registered lobbyist, the rules would bar their participation.

Departure will be on Friday, March 15th and we will return on Monday, March 18th. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.



2300 N St., NW

Suite 700

Washington, DC 20037

PH 202.736.5825

FX 202.785-2737

www.aspeninstitute.org



Page Two

The Aspen Institute, an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1950, provides a nonpartisan, neutral forum for leaders to discuss critical issues. The Institute's Congressional Program is designed to promote leadership on selected public policy issues in the Congress by bringing legislators together with internationally-recognized scholars and analysts in high-level discussion. Since the program's inception, over 450 Members of Congress have participated in the 137 conferences we have conducted.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 202-736-5825.

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Jan

Dan Glickman
Executive Director
Aspen Institute Congressional Program

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